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## THE RUSSIANS IN LOS ANGELES

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<sup>(1)</sup>

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# THE RUSSIANS IN LOS ANGELES

BY

LILLIAN SOKOLOFF, A. B.\*

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**1. Introduction.** There are approximately 3750 Russians in Los Angeles. Of this number, about 100 are Pravoslavni, or "followers of the true faith." They are nominally members of the Greek-Catholic Church in Russia, but actually, many are now free-thinkers. They are sometimes referred to in Los Angeles as non-sectarians.

The remaining 3650 Russians in this city are sectarians. Because they constitute 97 per cent. of the Russian population of Los Angeles, they will be given the chief place in this monograph. It may be noted in passing that no Russian Jews are included. Only persons who belong to the Russian division of the Slavic race are discussed. Of the sectarians, 3300 are Molokans (milk-drinkers), 50 are Dukhobors (evil spirit fighters), and 250 are Subotniks (Judaized Russians). The Molokans, in turn, are composed of Priguni (jumpers) and Postoyani (steady) in the proportion of 3100 to 200.

The first group of Molokans, who came here in 1905, settled around Bethlehem Institute on Vignes Street. When others came, a few bought homes along Clarence and Utah Streets. Then the settlement grew in the district situated between Boyle Avenue on the east and the Los Angeles River on the west, and between Aliso Street on the north and Seventh Street on the south. Recently there has been a new settlement made along what is known as Salt Lake Terrace several blocks east of the larger colony. On that street are located many of the somewhat better homes. In a hollow south of Stephenson Avenue and east of Mott Street, there is a group of about sixty houses occupied by Russians only.

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\* Editor's Note: The author of this monograph was graduated from the University of Southern California in 1915. This study was made as a phase of the work in the Sociology seminar.



**2. Sectarian Emigration from Russia.** To understand the Russians in Los Angeles, it is necessary to consider briefly their historical backgrounds. During the reign of Alexis Michaelovitch, second ruler of the Romanoff family—1645-1676—Nicon, at that time patriarch of the Russian Greek-Catholic Church, investigated and decided to change the liturgy. While the ruling house accepted his changes and formally adopted his type of worship as the state religion, there were many dissenters who would not submit to the dictates of the government in matters of religion. The dissenters were continually persecuted or banished, and were greatly dissatisfied with the bureaucratic institutions, with the hypocrisy of the priesthood, and with the forms of their worship; the numbers who sought other types of religion that would satisfy their deep religious feelings, constantly grew. Most of the dissenters were among the people living in that part of the country known as Great Russia. The government of Tambov became the centre of the activities of the sectarians, but soon sectarianism spread also to the governments of Koslov, Samara, Sartov, and Voronezh.

Prominent among the religious sects that developed, were the Dukhobors, the Molokans, and the Subotniks. The last-mentioned are Russians who have embraced the Jewish faith. This result was not through influence exerted on the part of Jews, however, because the Jews do not have any form of mission work for the purpose of conversion to Judaism; nor were there any Jews living in that part of Russia where these religious sects developed. The Subotniks embraced Judaism as a result of reading the Old Testament.

The essence of the Dukhobor religion is a belief in the divinity of Christ, and the brotherhood of man. The Dukhobors do not believe in any earthly representative of God; they have no church leaders, and no icons or images. They do not have church ceremonies nor do they believe in saints as do the Greek Catholics. They are opposed to war and therefore to military service. Their religion forbids their indulging in the use of intoxicating liquors, and in smoking.

The religion of the Molokans sprang from that of the Dukhobors. They call themselves Spiritual Christians, or New Israelites. The name 'Molokan, derived from the word "moloko" which means milk, was first applied to them in 1765 by a religious sect in the Government of Tambov. This name was applied because



of the fact that the Molokans drink milk every day in the week, while the Greek Catholics abstain from it on Wednesdays and Fridays, which are fast days for them.

The Molokans had no definite form of religion for many years. During the last years of the seventeenth century, two highly educated men, Skovoroda and Tveritinoff, had come under the influence of the teachings of Luther, Calvin, and other European reformers. These men then preached reform among the dissenters of the Russian Greek-Catholic Church. They thus paved the way for other reformers. For about one hundred years, the Molokans were unmolested by the governmental authorities. Russia was anxious to people her Caucasus region with Russians, therefore she exiled many of the dissenters to that locality. Of all the places of exile, the last mentioned was found to be very desirable by the dissenters and many went there of their free will. Lukian Sokoloff was instrumental in getting many thousands of the liberated serfs to go to the Caucasus region. Between thirty and forty thousand of the Dukhobors, Subotniks, and Molokans migrated there. The men were exempted from service in the army. This privilege was a great boon to them because their religion forbids their partaking in any form of militarism. There were between sixty and seventy thousand of the sectarians living in the Caucasus district in 1875. For a while the conditions there were the best that the sectarians had yet known. A number of them prospered and became wealthy, but the majority remained poor. Their occupation was chiefly cultivation of the soil. A great number were engaged in making butter and cheese, which were sent to Russia. Still others were petty shopkeepers, and teamsters.

It was not long, however, before the Russian government again began to oppress the sectarians in various ways. The heavy taxation of their land proved to be a greater burden than they could possibly bear. They were again compelled to serve in the army. Some of the more educated among them foresaw disastrous times because of inevitable wars in which Russia was to engage. They therefore began to consider the advisability of emigrating from their country. It is well known that of the emigrants from Russia up to the end of the last century, the greatest number were Jews and a smaller per cent were Poles, but scarcely any Russians proper. In the last two years of the nineteenth century,

many of the Dukhobors left the Caucasus region and went to Western Canada where several thousands now live.

The beginning of the Russo-Japanese War inaugurated a new era of persecutions for the sectarians in southeastern Russia. They were compelled to go to war. Though many were capable of occupying high military positions, they were prevented from so doing and were put to the most menial work. They also suffered all kinds of insults at the instigation of government officials. They were not permitted to go anywhere without passports—and passports were not granted them. It is therefore not surprising that these people became disgusted with conditions such as they experienced, and longed to leave the country.

The Dukhobors in Canada wrote to their friends in Russia, who came in large numbers to Canada. Among these were several Molokans who at first visited the Dukhobors, but not finding Canada inviting, they traveled along the Pacific Coast stopping at many places until they reached Los Angeles. They were favorably impressed by this city, and beginning with 1905, they began to come and continued to do so until the outbreak of the European War.

A very small number of the Russians left their families behind when they came here. Those who did so, usually sent for them in a short while. There are approximately the same number of each sex here.

**3. An Investigation of Fifty Families.** In 1915, the writer personally made a study of conditions of fifty Molokan families in the Russian community in Los Angeles and has obtained what seems valuable information concerning the life of these people. It may be said that the Molokans differ little among themselves in their personal characteristics, in their mode of living and thinking, and in their occupations and earnings. It is safe to assume that the fifty families, being about seven per cent of the total number of Russians who are living in this city, are representative of the Russian population of Los Angeles.

It is a well known fact that the Russians have large families. The fifty families in question may not indicate that the number per family is unusually large, but it should be remembered that many of the parents are young and that a number were recently

married. The total number of persons in the fifty families was 270; the average number per family was 5.4.

TABLE I.

*The Number of Families and the Number of Rooms Each Family Occupies:*

Number of families.....	17	14	17	2
Number of rooms per family.....	2	3	4	5

The next item is the number of persons, male and female, in each family, earning money. From a careful study of the facts, it may be said that wherever there is a possibility, the wife is earning. In the families consisting of three persons, few of the wives are earning as they are invariably obliged to take care of the child. In the families consisting of four or more members, where there is someone to take care of the very small child or children, the wife is usually employed. Of the thirty-three women who were working, thirty were wives and only three were daughters. With little variation, this status is the prevailing condition among the Russians, for as soon as a girl is of working age, she marries and then joins the married women who are earning.

The weekly earnings of the males ranged in 1915 from three dollars per week, in the case of a young boy, to twenty-three dollars. The greatest number earned in 1915 thirteen and a half dollars a week. The weekly earnings of the females ranged from four dollars per week to ten dollars. The greatest number earned six dollars a week. Of the fifty families, there were only six with a steady income. All the others suffered from periods of unemployment. At the present time, the Russians demand and receive the same standard of wages that is received by any other nationality. As with other nationalities, the standard of living rises with the improvement of material conditions.

A feature peculiar to the Russians is that a large per cent of them own their homes. Though their earnings were small, the investment in a home was a means of saving for them; they are all eager to save. Of the fifty families investigated, twenty-six owned their homes. The values of these homes ranged from \$800 to \$4,000.

TABLE II.

*The Number of Families Owning Homes and Value of the Property in 1915:*

Value of Homes.....	\$800 to \$1200	\$1300 to \$1800	\$1900 to \$2200	\$2300 to \$4000
Number of families owning homes....	6	7	8	5
Total value of homes.....				\$48,600.00
Average value of homes.....				1,869.23
Total debt on homes.....				14,400.00
Average debt on homes.....				592.30
Total equity on homes.....				33,200.00
Average equity on homes.....				1,276.92
Maximum equity.....				2,500.00
Minimum equity.....				400.00

In the last few years, the Russians have developed new ideas regarding their desires for the future. They no longer buy homes here for they do not intend to remain in this city permanently. Almost all the Russians who own their homes, do not occupy any more rooms than are absolutely necessary in order to comply with the housing laws. The remaining rooms they rent to others. In almost all cases, there are two or three families occupying one house. Those who rent rooms also use no more rooms than are absolutely required by the housing laws. The habitations of nearly all are poorly furnished. The floors are bare, the furniture is of the cheapest kind, and consists of beds, of which there are usually two in each room, except the kitchen, where there is a table and a few chairs. These people are not only opposed to icons, but they carry the idea further and have no pictures of any kind on the walls. There is no attempt to make the surroundings esthetic or pleasant. A home is apparently looked upon as a place of shelter only. In spite, however, of crowded conditions (as the total number of persons in fifty families was 270 and the number of rooms for the fifty families was 154, the average number of persons per room was 1.75), the habitations are fairly clean.

**4. Occupations.** Of all the Russians in this city, about 75 per cent of the working men were employed in lumber yards up to the outbreak of the war. Then the majority entered the ship-building industry. About 10 per cent own and drive their own teams, and work by the day in hauling produce and other commodities. About 2 per cent are engaged in running little grocery stores and butcher shops, which are patronized by their own people. The remainder—about 13 per cent—are employed in various ways,

e. g., in the metal trades, automobile shops, planing mills, fruit canneries. The last-mentioned occupations are followed by the younger men of the community, who have had some schooling but who left school as soon as the law permitted them to do so.

It is the usual thing among the Russians for the married women to work. The young women are employed chiefly in laundries. Girls who have attended school and have learned the English language, work in the biscuit factories which are in the neighborhood. A small number of girls work in a candy factory on Utah Street. The older women work in fruit canneries or do housework by the day. Though many of the girls who have been to school for several years, could do other work and perhaps earn more money, the parents are anxious to have them work near home and among their own people. Clerking or office work might cause the girls to become "Americanized" quickly and to this the older people object.

**5. Religion.** As stated at the beginning of this monograph, the religion of the Molokans sprang from that of the Dukhobors. Both these sects are opposed to war. They believe in no earthly representatives of God. The Molokans have no ministers or church dignitaries of any kind. They have no rules or traditions as to who shall be their religious advisers. Their pastors are not ordained, do not receive compensation, and are not dependent upon the approval of the community. Their authority prevails only at prayer meetings, marriage ceremonies, and funeral services. It may be said that the Molokan religion has little definite form. It is systemless. Many of its phases are exceedingly crude. It is incoherent and inconsistent. It prohibits the use of intoxicating liquors and smoking. Like the orthodox Jews, the Molokans abstain from eating pork and are supposed to slaughter their beef in a certain manner.

They came to this country, as other races before them had come, to seek a haven where they could enjoy religious freedom. In the course of time a change has come in their attitude toward religion. Originally, religion was considered the chief and only end of life. Now they are beginning to consider it more as a means than an end. They are seeking other goals besides religious freedom, namely, political, economic and social freedom.



The Molokans are divided into two groups, Postoyani (steady) and Priguni (jumpers). The Postoyani have drifted very little from the Greek-Catholic Church. They have done away with church dignitaries and icons, but keep the holidays as do the Greek-Catholics. But the Priguni have entirely abolished the forms of service as well as the holidays of the Greek-Catholic Church. They celebrate the same holidays as do the Jews according to the Old Testament, having added only that of the birth of Christ, whom they consider their Saviour.

Both the Postoyani and Priguni consider any clean room a fit place for worship. In the center of the prayer room, there is a table; around the room and near the walls are benches. The men are seated at the right from the entrance and the women at the left.

There are at present seven churches in the Russian settlement. These are simply very large rooms in which church services are conducted. During holidays, some private homes are also used for religious services. The Priguni conduct their prayers in a unique manner. All pray aloud for some time, until one feels that the "spirit" has entered into him, when in a trance-like manner he comes to the center of the place of worship. The praying goes on in a sing-song loud tone of voice until one by one, every person feels the "spirit" within him.

Among these sectarians, funeral services are occasions of much prayer and many gatherings. The members of the family of the deceased take turns in wailing and lamentation in a sort of monotonous, rhythmic fashion, speaking of the good deeds and excellent personal traits of the deceased. These services usually last for a day or two, until the burial takes place.

**6. Social Life.** The social and religious life of these people are closely related. It is their religion that has kept them together. It was because of their religion that they were persecuted, exiled, and compelled to live together in Russia. When they decided to emigrate, they came here and settled in this city, close together. Almost all the Molokans in this city are related by blood or marriage.

They are naturally clannish because of their comparatively recent immigration and because of ignorance of the English



language. Their mutual interest in each other keeps them together. Among their admirable traits, that of mutual self-help is indeed commendable. Very few apply for public charity. If a family or individual among them is in straightened circumstances, the community does all it possibly can to assist. Local charity records show that application for aid has been made by only a few Russians. The Russians consider it a great disgrace to apply for charity, no matter how needy they may be.

Though the Molokans have no acknowledged leaders in their community, the older people give instructions; they are usually obeyed. The old people are highly respected, both by their children and grandchildren. As long as the grandfather lives, he is usually head of the family in all affairs. Though he be strong and healthy, a Russian usually retires from the active life of earning money when he is about fifty. His children support him. Therefore, it is not unusual to see able-bodied, comparatively young-looking men, sitting around at home or visiting together. Recently, however, many of the older men have been working in the shipyards.

The Molokans usually marry very young. Girls of sixteen and seventeen and boys of eighteen, are considered of marriageable age. The parents arrange the marriages of their children. The young bride always goes to live with her husband's people. Because she works and contributes the earnings to the family exchequer, it is customary for her husband's people to compensate her parents for depriving them of an assistant in the form of a worker before she has paid back to her parents part of the cost of rearing her to a marriageable age. This practice is looked upon by the American authorities as a form of buying and selling girls. But the Molokans are very indignant at such a suggestion. In all earnestness, they consider the custom a justifiable practice.

The form of the marriage ceremony is as follows: The parents of the young man bless the groom and grant their permission for his marriage. The young man then goes to the house of the bride-to-be, where the guests are gathered, all praying. After praying, the bride's father says to the groom, "I give you my daughter as wife." Whereupon mutual consent is requested and each promises his faithful love.

The birthrate is very high among the Molokans but infant mortality is also very high. Of the children brought here in infancy, a greater per cent survived than of those who are born here.

**7. Education and Recreation.** A very small number of the Molokans who migrated here were literate when they came. This condition was doubtless due to the fact that their economic status was very low.

The young go to school and learn eagerly. In the Utah Street School, where the writer has been engaged in teaching for four years, there are about 1,000 children. About forty per cent of them are Russian Molokans. These compare very well in their studies with the other nationalities attending this school. It is to be regretted that the Russians do not allow their children to remain in school any longer than the law requires them to stay. No matter how eager the boys and girls are for a higher education, they are taken out of school and sent to work at the age of fifteen. When they finish the eighth grade, they are not sent to the high school. In the past year, about ten completed the eighth grade of the elementary school on Utah Street before they were fifteen years of age.

Besides the day school, there is also a night school in the Utah Street District. This is largely attended by Russians, the greater number of whom are boys and girls who have had little or no schooling. A few men also attend, but unfortunately, none of the women, though several attempts have been made to induce the women to come.

Two attempts have been made to have the Russian language taught to the young and adults by teachers which the Russians themselves secured. Several years ago, the Molokans obtained permission from the Board of Education to use two of the class-rooms at the Utah Street School from three to five o'clock daily. The classes were conducted by a man and woman who were paid by the community. The instructors were not Molokans but native Russians who possessed a good education. After several months, the school was discontinued. Last year, another attempt was made to have a Russian school conducted in one of the private homes but this experiment was short-lived.

The night school in the Russian neighborhood is well attended by little boys and girls who would otherwise be on the streets. They come and play various games in the school rooms, directed by a teacher; or on the playground, which is well lighted and has an attendant in charge.

The Y. W. C. A. maintains a Club house on Utah Street to which a number of girls are attracted.

There is little time for many of the Russian children to play. Almost all the older children who attend school have many home duties. As both the parents are working, the boys and girls take care of the younger children after school. During school hours, the small children are placed in the school nursery of the Utah Street School, which has two trained nurses in attendance. Besides taking care of the little brothers and sisters, the boys and girls prepare the meals for the family and perform various other house duties.

If any children do have a chance for recreation, they eagerly fall into playing like other normal children. The older people have very few forms of amusements. They do not have outings like other nationalities. Their gatherings are usually at the church or in the homes for the purpose of prayer. During holidays, there is much feasting in the homes and churches. Weddings, christenings, and funerals are occasions for gathering and feasting.

During the years that these people have lived in Los Angeles they have learned that the principal of the school to whom they send their children, is their sincere friend. Therefore, they have great confidence in her and come to the school for advice concerning their most intimate affairs. As an interpreter between these people and the principal, the writer has had opportunity to become well acquainted with them and their hopes and ideals. True Americanism is being interpreted to the Russians in a splendid way by the principal. Through her, their faith in America is steadied and strengthened.

**8. Assimilation and Amalgamation.** Owing to the fact that the Molokans live in a community by themselves, the adults among them have not adopted American customs. Their religion, too, prevents them from becoming Americanized. Inter-marriage with

other racial representatives is strictly forbidden. Thus far, of all the Molokans here, six girls have married out of their own religion; these have been disowned by their parents and ostracized by the community.

Because the Molokans are opposed to war or militarism in any form, they refuse to become naturalized. Of the members of the fifty families which were specially studied, none of those eligible to naturalization have taken advantage of the privilege. They state that one of the chief causes for leaving their native land was their opposition to war. But since they are subject to being drafted into military service in the event of war in this country, they do not want to become naturalized. Though many of them have declared their intention to become American citizens by applying for their first papers, none have become fully naturalized. During the war none were drafted and none enlisted. Very few bought liberty bonds as that procedure according to their ideas, meant supporting war. However, they voluntarily made substantial contributions to the Red Cross. Each head of a family gave from \$5 to \$10.

The narrow sphere of their activities and occupations causes the adults of the community to remain ignorant of American customs. There are a few things which they have of necessity learned. But the vast differences between the customs and laws in Russia and in the United States are understood by only a few. The majority of them have only a vague idea of the American conception of liberty, and a number of them are disappointed when they find it is not the same as their conception. This disappointment, however, does not result in lawlessness. When told that the law requires the children to stay in school till they are of a certain age, the parents naturally submit, but remark that it is a strange law that does not permit the parents to have entire control of their children.

The younger element among the Molokans, on the other hand, are rapidly becoming Americanized. The effective agency in this particular is naturally the public school. The children learn eagerly and rapidly. Considering that they hear English spoken only in school, we may conclude that they acquire the language quickly.

In some instances, the young who earn and they who are in contact with liberal ideas begin to show signs of revolt against the customs of their elders. This results in real tragedies in the homes. It is not always the best American traits that the young foreigners acquire. When the young men of the Molokan community began to frequent saloons and other undesirable places there was a great disturbance in the community. Above everything else that the Molokans in Los Angeles are grieved over, is the fact that the young are drifting away from parental authority. They see in this tendency the destruction of their most cherished ideals.

The recent tendency on the part of the girls to drift from the old customs may be said to be desirable from a liberal standpoint. The girls object to being "married off" to young men simply because the parents are satisfied with the arrangement. They show desires for better things in life than their mothers have experienced. They also show the natural trait of girls in their desires for pretty clothes. They are no longer contented to wear the same style of costumes they had worn in Russia; they do not wish to be distinguished by their peculiar style of dress. They also seek to go to dances or moving picture shows. This desire is considered most outrageous by the elders in the community. Though many of the young people desire the enjoyments of youth which are mentioned above, very few dare to indulge in them. And here the tragedy comes in. The older element in the community considers this drifting away of the young from old traditions, the result of living under modern city conditions. Therefore their most ardent desire and sole hope is to leave the city and establish themselves upon the soil. With very few exceptions, the Molokans are looking forward to the time when they can leave the city. Many have already done so. Between three and four hundred families (perhaps 2,000 individuals) have left Los Angeles within the last six years and have gone to other parts of the country where they have bought land. Many of them went to Mexico; others went to New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, Washington, and Oregon; a few others to different parts of this state, but in every instance away from cities. The complete statistics of the fifty families indicates very clearly that within the last eight years, few of those who came here have bought their homes. They are now determined not to remain in



the city permanently and therefore do not buy homes as they once did.

**9. Conclusions.** The Molokans in this city are frequently referred to as Russian peasants. The writer was born in Russia and as a child lived among the peasants in that part of the country known as "Little Russia," or the Ukraine, which comprises several governments in the southern part of European Russia. The peasants there are indeed on a very low plane of civilization. Almost all of them are illiterate and ignorant. Their mode of living, their customs and habits are crude. But the Russians in this city belong to a distinctly higher class. By coming in contact with the Molokans, one will soon realize the difference.

During four years of teaching at the Utah Street School, at which almost all the Russian children attend, the writer has had occasion to come in close contact with the adults. It is true that they are illiterate in a great majority of cases, but they are of that class which has had the courage to suffer for an ideal. They have been persecuted at the hands of the Russian Government and have suffered many cruelties and hardships because of their religious convictions. Their religion may be considered crude and narrow in many instances, but it can not be denied that these people have high moral standards. Along the way on the march toward civilization, it is the people who have the courage to suffer for what they considered right who have risen above those who merely drifted. So it is that these dissenters from the Russian state church have also risen far above the average Russian peasants.

In Russia they learned through bitter experience that laws were for the benefit of the leaders and the detriment of the masses. They look forward to just laws and are anxious to abide by them in this country. They desire law but not lawlessness, such as they experienced in Russia. .

On the whole, it may be said that the Russians in this city are a quiet, law-abiding people. They are not given to any of the vices or crimes as a class, that are found among other nationalities. There are records of only several cases of arrests of Russian men for drinking. Thus far there have not been any cases of arrests of women for any misconduct or vice. A number of small boys have been known to get into trouble because of petty larceny, and



have been detained in the Juvenile Hall. If anything of this sort occurs, the entire neighborhood is generally astir. The parents are greatly alarmed and are ready to follow advice that would prevent recurrence of such trouble. Like other people of meagre income, they send the boys to sell newspapers in the business sections of this city. The freedom in the handling of money, to which these boys are not accustomed, and the dazzle of the things that they see have a very bad influence over those who go. The parents, therefore, do their utmost to keep them away, if they find that the effect is harmful.

It is gratifying to say that by far the greater number of older boys and all girls are of splendid character. The affectionate care which these boys and girls give the younger brothers and sisters, is most inspiring. They distinguish themselves in almost all branches of elementary school work and would undoubtedly do likewise in the higher branches of education, were they given an opportunity to pursue them. Above everything else in school, the clean morals of the growing children can not be spoken of too highly. If there is any psychical characteristic that can be said to be more predominant than any other among these children, it is that of stubbornness. When rightly directed, this trait becomes an asset.

The children of the Russians have undergone a remarkable change in the last three years. They were in the habit of conversing among themselves only in Russian. Now they always speak English. The girls formerly came to school dressed in their national mode of attire with bright-colored or black lace shawls over their heads. In the summer, they wore white shawls made of muslin and embroidered in the Russian cross-stitch of red and black embroidering thread, edged with lace. There was scarcely ever a girl who was seen with her head uncovered. Now, however, all this situation is changed. All of the girls come bareheaded and dressed like American children. They pride themselves in not being different from other children in their manner of dress. If they are asked to put on their Russian costumes for any occasion, they do not want to do it because, as they say, they are ashamed to be seen on the street other than as American children. They are confiding and affectionate and one feels that with proper environment, they will grow up to be splendid men and women.

There is this to be added, however, that judging from the desire of the older element in the community, there is scarcely a chance of many Russians remaining in Los Angeles. Everywhere among them one learns that they are here temporarily, and that they are in constant hope of going out upon the land where they wish to establish themselves permanently. In either case, whether those growing up remain here or move out into rural districts, there seems to be no reason to think that the Russians will ever be a serious problem to this city. In view of their excellent personal characteristics and the hope that they will adopt the best of our American customs, we may look forward to seeing them develop into desirable American citizens. Much, however, is to be done in improving their material circumstances, in bringing about better living conditions, and in giving them the best ideals that we can offer them.



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